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ABSTRACT

The Commission for Youth Involvement was formed to examine existing programs and recommend better methods to facilitate youth participation in state and community affairs. The commission studied education, social problems, State government, community government, the present political system, and youth and the law. Recommendations included: (1) that youth form a political action organization with the help of the governor, (2) that State law be changed to conform to reality in such matters as curfew, rights in court, drug use, and modern morality, and (3) the formation of a State office for social action. (BH)

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Toward A NEW ACTIVISM

REPORT OF THE

GOVERNOR'S COMMISSION
FOR YOUTH INVOLVEMENT

1969

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TOWARD A NEW ACTIVISM
Youth's role in a changing society

FINAL REPORT OF THE GOVERNOR'S
COMMISSION FOR YOUTH INVOLVEMENT

A. Ludlow Kramer, Chairman

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U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
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MAY 1970

STATE OF WASHINGTON OLYMPIA

A. LUDLOW KRAMER
SECRETARY OF STATE

June 23, 1970

The Honorable Daniel J. Evans
Governor of the State of Washington
Legislative Building
Olympia, Washington 98501

Dear Governor Evans:

I am pleased to submit the final report of the Governor's Commission for Youth Involvement created by Executive Order on August 5, 1969.

In accordance with that Order, the Commission has looked at length into youth involvement in Washington State government. Although the Executive Order placed particular emphasis upon youth involvement in state government, the Commission discovered that political processes, educational reform, social action, and legal rights were of equal concern to young people.

The Commission, as a volunteer organization, did not have the staff or time to move into such fields as education other than to call for separate and complete studies. They were satisfied, however, that the basic goals and values underlying education in Washington State should be reappraised in light of the rapid changes taking place in the greater society.

Finally, the true value of this report and the Commission is that they brought together both young people and concerned citizens in government and in the private sector who were dedicated to better communication between young and old. By so doing, the Commission laid the groundwork for the professionally staffed Commission which is now seeking to implement the original Commission's recommendations.

Respectfully yours,

A. Ludlow Kramer
Chairman

ALK:SM

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COMMISSION

The Washington State Commission for Youth Involvement was created by Executive Order of Governor Daniel J. Evans on August 5, 1969. Actually, the Commission's program had been launched before that time - in early June 1969. In cooperation with Secretary of State, A. Ludlow Kramer, the Commission was established primarily for the purpose of examining and evaluating existing programs and making recommendations and suggestions of more effective methods for the facilitation of youth participation in State and Community affairs. At the direction of the Governor, Secretary of State Kramer formed the thirty member Commission during June and early July of 1969.

The Commission for Youth Involvement was comprised exclusively of young people - in fact, the oldest member of the Commission was thirty, while the median age was twenty-two. The members were selected on the basis of their concern with both the problems of youth, as well as the problems of contemporary society in general. Such considerations as geographical distribution, ethnic background, and occupation were also taken into account.

The following individuals served as members of the Commission: The Honorable A. Ludlow Kramer, Chairman. Twice elected Secretary of State; former Seattle City Councilman; Chairman, Governor's Advisory Council on Urban Affairs; Chairman, State Committee on Constitutional Revision; Co-Chairman, Decisions for Progress Conference; and the Governor's Urban Affairs Coordinator for 1965-66; Chairman of the Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Civil Disorder for 1968-69.

John Adkinson - 22, Yakima; Senior at Whitman College; President of College Republicans; Intern to City Manager in Yakima· Phi Beta Kappa; Outstanding Athletes of America.

Michael Botkin - 21, Snohomish; Western Washington State College; Executive Director of Student Lobbyists for 19 year old vote in the 1970 Special Legislative Session; Activities Commissioner at Western; Campaign Coordinator for 19 year old vote; Summer intern for State Planning and Community Affairs Agency in Olympia, 1969.

Brian Buntain - 22, Seattle; Youth Program Planner for Youth Division of City of Seattle; Washington State University.

Kelly Evans - 19, Aberdeen; Seattle University; Young Democrats State Convention; Delegate to Model United Nations at Fresno.

Carver Gayton - Administrative Assistant to the Executive Vice-President of the University of Washington; Neighborhood House Board; Equal Employment Programs; Athletic Department Coach at University of Washington; Summer Youth Programs for youth of Seattle Central Area.

Belinda Gonzales - 18, Spokane; Holy Names Academy; Representative of American Indian Center.

Kathy Hays - 18, Olympia; Olympia High School Song Staff for two years; Evergreen Girls' State 1969; Girls' Nation 1969; Executive Committee of Olympia High School Student Body Student-Faculty Relations Committee.

Rod Hepworth - 18, Tacoma; Mount Tahoma High School; Student Body President; Co-Chairman of Tacoma Youth Human Relations Groups for City of Tacoma 1969-70.

Sharon Hobbs - 19, Seattle; Western Washington State College; Organized Seattle's first City Youth Council; Chairman of State Youth Committee on Crime and Juvenile Delinquency of Washington Council on Crime and Delinquency; White House Conference on Children and Youth 1970; Seattle Communication Council of Media Leaders and Black Citizens 1969; Seattle Crisis Clinic.

Darlene Johnson - 23, Spokane; Math major at University of Washington; University Board of Control; Black Student Union.

Sue Johnson - 19, Longview; Lower Columbia College; Washington State White House Conference on Children and Youth; Works with retarded and physically handicapped children; Secretary of Student Activities.

Gary Levine - 30, Seattle; President of K & L Distributing Company; Co-Chairman of Garfield Magnet Program in Seattle.

Betsy Lindsay - 18, Spokane; Washington State University; Washington Representative to United States Senate Youth Program in Washington, D.C.; Action for Washington; Mayor's Youth Council in Spokane.

William Niemi, Jr. - 32, Seattle; Harvard Graduate 1960; President of Eddie Bauer, Inc.; Young Presidents Organization, Seattle; Masters in Industrial Management from MIT; Co-Chairman for Procurement Committee for "Poncho."

Dallas Salisbury - 20, Everett; University of Washington Board of Control; University Board of Directors; University District Board of Directors; University District Chamber of Commerce.

Herb Schoenfeld, Jr. - 32, Seattle; Executive of Schoenfeld Furniture in Tacoma; University of Washington graduate 1960; Lions Club of Tacoma.

John Sepolen - Spokane; KXLY Evening News Director; Eastern Washington State College; Black Student Union; Special Programs Director of College radio KEWC.

Josh Shaw - 17, Tacoma; Stadium High School; Student Body President; Boys' State Lieutenant Governor 1969; Boys' Nation; Citizens Committee for School Support; Elks Scholarships Awarded: Youth Leadership and Most Valuable Student Award.

Philip Shinn - 21, Tacoma; Tacoma Community College; Student Chairman of Washington Association of Community Colleges for Student Government; Pierce County representative of College Republican League.

Claudia Tenney - 17, Spokane; Vice-Chairman for White House Conference on Children and Youth; Secretary of Metro-Spokane Youth Council; Volunteer to Spokane Crisis Clinic.

Paul Thomas - Seattle; Teacher at Bellevue High School; Head of Seattle Tutorial Program; Education in Action Pilot Program for Seniors in High School; Commission for Improvement of Institutions; Bellevue Education Association.

Mark Tokola - 17, Vancouver; Fort Vancouver High School; Clark County Chairman for Action for Washington; President of Southwestern Washington International Relations League; Student Council and Judiciary Council.

Larry Tuke - Tacoma; Washington State University; University Disciplinary Board and Conduct Committee; Psy Chi; USSAC, summers of 1968 and 1969 in Tacoma; Field worker for Model Cities, Tacoma 1968-69; Steering Committee of Experience Education Program at WSU; Job Corps Visitation Committee at WSU; Ports Congressional Intern Scholarship Award; Charter Member of National Association for Awareness of White People; White Racism Panels; Summer WICHE Program.

Charles Walter - 20, Tacoma; Yale University; Phi Eta Sigma.

Steven Weiner - 21, Seattle; University of Washington; Editor of Daily Environment Edition; Editor of University Daily.

ADVISORY PANEL

The Commission membership per se was assisted in its endeavors by a Resource Advisory Panel. The following contributed their expertise as members of this panel:

Christopher T. Bayley - Deputy Attorney General Chief, Consumer Protection and Anti-Trust Division of the Attorney General.

Roland J. Cole - Harvard College; Intern for the Urban Affairs Council 1968-69; Acting Director for the Urban Affairs Council for the summer of 1969.

H. Donald MacKinnon - Administrative Assistant to the Secretary of State, A. Ludlow Kramer.

Neil McReynolds - Press Secretary to the Honorable Daniel J. Evans.

James Dolliver - Administrative Assistant to the Honorable Daniel J. Evans.

Richard W. Hemstad - Legal Assistant to the Honorable Daniel J. Evans.

Pam Madson - Staff Assistant to the Governor's Commission for Youth Involvement.

John Mosier - Public Member for the Council on Higher Education; Commission on Higher Education.

Llewelyn G. Pritchard - Attorney; Young Lawyers Association of King County.

Gary Raaen - Pacific Lutheran University Graduate; Former: Design for Tacoma.

Sam Sumner Reed - Assistant Secretary of State.

John B. Welsh, Jr. - Attorney to the Legislative Council.

STAFF

James C. Waldo, Seattle, is the Executive Director of the Commission. Mr. Waldo is 20 years old and is a senior at Whitman College, Walla Walla. Mr. Waldo is a Political Science major and is involved in State Government at Whitman. He is a member of the College Republican League, worked on the 18 year old vote campaign for the 1970 Special Legislative Session and is presently working on the 19 year old vote campaign. Previous to working on the Commission he was involved in Action for Washington. Mr. Waldo is a graduate of Garfield High School, 1966. H. Stuart Elway, III, is the Assistant Director of the Commission. He is 22 years old and is presently a senior at the University of Washington where he is a Political Science major. He is the president of the College Republican League at the University and has worked on Action for Washington. Mr. Elway is originally from Aberdeen. Samuel T. Hubbard, Jr., Spokane, is Research Director for the Commission. Mr. Hubbard is a graduate of Whitman College. He also attended the State University of New York. Previous to working on the Commission he was involved in Action for Washington. Mr. Waldo and Mr. Hubbard, in conjunction with Bob Davidson and Arthur Fletcher were responsible for the conception of the Commission.

Editorial Assistance for the Report was provided by Miss Priscilla Lisicich and Dr. Ronald W. Taber. Publication assistance was provided by Miss Vee Squires and Mr. Kenneth N. Gilbert. Secretarial Assistance for the Commission was provided by Miss Sally Mathiasen and Mrs. Marilyn Fuller, and Graphic Artist was Mr. Jack Moody.

CHAPTER ONE
Introduction: THE FIRST STEP

> If we make peaceful revolution impossible, we make violent revolution inevitable.
>
> -- John F. Kennedy

America has reached a crisis hour with its youth. The erosion of respect for the very foundations of our social, governmental, and political institutions is growing daily and accelerating like the grains of sand dropping into the bottom of an emptying hourglass. Not only is the status quo no longer tolerable, it has become unendurable.

Although American youth today still remain basically reformist rather than revolutionary (philosophically they are the same, tactically they are different, it is estimated that:

---over 500,000 young people run away from home each year seeking "freedom" in hippie communes;

---over 50,000 students participated in disruptive demonstrations on college and university campuses in 1968, with the number of disruptive demonstrations having increased greatly in 1969.

---in 1969, some 6,000 "incidents" - ranging from racial strife through political protests to arson attempts - were registered in the nation's public high schools.

---in 1968 protest demonstrations, both violent and peaceful, against the war in Vietnam in 34 per cent of the 859 four-year colleges and universities studied by the Educational Testing Service, show concern of the youth; further concern was shown in 1969 in the October moratorium with one million people participating;

---between 3,000 and 5,000 young Americans have fled to Canada seeking political asylum from the compulsory system of military conscription;

---an estimated 10,000,000 Americans smoke marijuana either regularly or occasionally;

---cautious federal officials believe that heroin addiction below age 25 jumped 40% from 1968 to 1969.

A recent survey reported in the June 1969 issue of Fortune magazine revealed that of those young people between the ages of 17 and 23 interviewed, one per cent could be classified as outright revolutionaries, 10 per cent as "radical dissidents," 23 per cent as reformers, 48 per cent as moderates, and 19 per cent as conservatives. These figures assume great significance when it is realized that 41 per cent of the United States population is under age 21, and that one out of every four Americans is a student.

The "Flower Children" are disappearing. They are now hybrid strains with bitter

roots. Their argot is no longer only "love," "peace," "freedom," and "equality;" it is also "lifestyle," "movement," "co-opters," "Amerika," and "Marxist analysis." Primarily under the leadership of the Weatherman faction of the Students for a Democratic Society, self-styled revolutionaries are increasingly resorting to acts of overt violence, particularly bombings, to bring about the destruction of American institutions and according to their "ideology" open the door for truly meaningful social change. While the vast majority of student activists and dissidents have by no means accepted the Weatherman's violent tactics, their deep-rooted feelings of discontent and alienation from the mainstream of contemporary American society continues to grow. The declamation - "We are one nation!" - heard with increasing frequency during and following the Woodstock music and air festival (which attracted some 400,000 young people to the farm near Bethel, New York early last fall) has acquired increased credence and validity in the minds of many of the younger generation.

However, the primary problem is that so few members of the older generation realize that the group wanting change is not composed of just a few malcontents. The young in this country need not have long hair and wear strange looking clothes to hold many of the ideals of the activists. It is the blanket generalizations, imposed by society in the form of philosophy or outmoded laws that cause dissension. The quick, unqualified assertions that "marijuana is bad," "rock festivals are bad," "hippies are bad," "draft evasion is bad," "protests are bad" -- the frightened visceral responses of an older generation--far from contributing to solutions to these problems, only serve to aggravate them. Until more dialogue is initiated, until certain laws are analyzed, until young people have a participatory voice, the generation gap will continue to exist--indeed, will grow.

To the young it is a question of "being out front," of saying what you mean and <u>really</u> meaning what you say, of cutting out the hypocrisy, of being able to do what you want to do as long as you are not interfering with someone else. Not all young people wear Black Panther buttons, or White Panther buttons, or Women's Liberation Front buttons. Not all dress funny. Not all use drugs. Not all attend rock festivals. But a huge majority of young people think others should be allows to "do their own thing." And they are more overtly concerned with where America is headed than previous generations. If their involvement in participatory government is not allowed, if their concerns are not heeded, then our future as a State and as a nation certainly lies in doubt.

The contemporary "youth movement" may, in the broadest sense, be seen as an attempt by young people to force their entry into the society, to compel it to acknowledge that they exist. The nation, in turn, has made occasional accommodations, but its general reaction, to paraphrase Fitzgerald and Hemingway, has been, "The young are very different from you and me." "Yes, they aren't as old."

As the psychological rewards of participation in the demonstrations for racial economic equality, desegregation, and so forth, have diminished, many young people - and not a few of their elders - have groped for new goals and new strategies for bringing meaning into their own lives. For a time in the late fifties and early sixties, broad social goals such as racial and economic equality captured the spirit and fired the imagination of many young people. As the decade ended in frustration, assassination and war, these objectives seem altogether evanescent. Young people still search for a sense of mission for their society and for themselves, but increasingly that search leads to angry outbursts against the society itself. The student protest movement of the past few years is probably more significant than most Americans yet apprehend. Its origins are complex, and "alienation" is too simple a word to describe them. But its success - whether seen as the introduction of "Black studies" into university curriculum or the virtual forced abdication of an American President - has been heady, and the end is not in sight. American youth is flexing its collective muscles and finding itself stronger that it - or anyone else - had realized.

We need to initiate rational dialogue rather than visceral reactions and counter-reactions, a dialogue based on a frank presentation of views from both. We cannot endure as a society based upon confrontation. Is this not the basis of the democratic process - talking and <u>listening</u> to all sides, and then hopefully making rational (rather than emotional) decisions or modifications for the benefit of all?

In the end, the question posed is a choice between reform according to democratic principles, or the spectre of violent revolutionary acts. History has never presented any society with so great an option as now; change or no change for America. Change is the challenge that is presently before us; it remains for us to determine the direction it will take.

CHAPTER TWO
Education: CRISIS IN THE CLASSROOM

Although the education section is the shortest in words, it was revealed that during the course of research it deemed the greatest study. The education committee studied education in Washington State and found the problems to be paramount. Education, however, is the one problem that appears to be in the slowest stages of reform. The issue of educational failure clearly goes beyond race problems and rural and urban problems. "The real issue is whether, in this period of social change, America's educational establishment will reconsider first assumptions about goals and methods."[1] The educational establishment assumes that the 'old methods' of learning will satisfy and suffice for the new generation. Schools are operating with antiquated ideas in a time when the schools and institutions of higher learning are the 'marketplace of ideas.' "We sense intuitively that the first thoroughly televised generation in the history of the world cannot be passed through the same rigid institutional structures that its parents and grandparents traveled."[2]

The main conclusion arrived at in colleges and high schools is that education is irrelevant and that the State must recognize this as one of the most urgent problems affecting Washington.*

Note: *Some of the groups that have recently called for a study of the State's educational system with an eye to reform are the Washington State White House Conference on Children and Youth, The Washington State Council on Children and Youth, the Governor's Education Conference, and The Urban Affairs Council.

Problems such as transportation and pollution control have horrified private citizens and public officials and have galvanized them into action. And yet, an inadequate educational system that is producing far more costly consequences to society is not being reformed - it is being ignored. Basically, the schools are out of touch with what is most important in students' lives; they have failed to keep pace with the great changes in American life during the past two decades. The students realize that society has granted them more liberty than any previous generation; but they feel their schools restrict and thwart them in everything from dress and deportment to curriculums. Many are just "doing time" while they remain bored. Others raise the banner of rebellion which, these days, carries only one word: "relevance." For these students and many others, learning has come to be and still remains more a mechanical than a personal experience. The schools have not kept up with the society they wish to serve. Curriculums remain what they were twenty years ago and students are expected to remain passive receptacles for knowledge, which they are instructed to gain by listening, taking notes, memorizing facts and regurgitating on exams. The widespread student demand for scholastic relevance carries with it contempt for learning in any traditional sense. This contempt for traditionalism has become a point of student unrest throughout the nation today.

The struggle for educational reform first arose in the colleges and universities beginning with the radicals and dissidents of society. The crux of the storm is now no longer in the universities and colleges - it has permeated the high school level. Students in high school are beginning to see that the educational system as it now stands is not preparing them for either a vocational or technical career, neither are they being prepared for the challenge that a university or college has to offer. It is quite apparent that some remedial action must be taken.

To begin, everyone must take a critical look at themselves to see what can be done - for educational reform concerns everyone and every occupation in today's society.

> Left by themselves to decide the broad policy issues, our professional educators are inevitably bound to keep the schools as structures organized for their own convenience, reflecting their own largely middle-class sort of football coach notions as to the kind of society we have and are becoming, committed almost irrevocably to repeating over and over again the outmoded practices of the past.

> It is time that politics, in its best sense, came back into the schools, and by this I mean the willingness of political leadership to take on, and bring to some relevant solution, too-long deferred problems of restructuring public education. [3]

Obviously the most effective method of facilitating change is through our local, state and federal governments. For no other way will a unifired method of re orm be accomplished than through uniform tactics and efforts.

Education has come under increasingly sharp attack during the past ten years - not only by students - but by teachers, administrators, parents and government officials as well. The situation in Washington State is no exception, as illustrated by the Governor's Urban Affairs Council: "School districts, school administrators, and individual schools have either been unwilling or unable to change significantly to meet the rapidly changing educational needs of our modern urban society. This reluctance to change has helped to cause de facto segregation, needless duplication and an inefficient use of taxpayer's money." [4]

The Committee on Education has corroborated the conclusions of the Urban Affairs Council Report, largely from the point of view of students. Students are critical of the system in a way going far beyond specific "gripes" and stretching into wholesale condemnation. Some students, usually those who have done well academically in the system, say the process taught them very little and gave them no appreciation for the learning process. Others - generally those who did not do well academically by the system's standards - term the elementary school and secondary school processes a bore, having no relation whatsoever to their own lives.

In reality both groups are saying the same thing. Education is 'irrelevant' - a term used so often to describe our educational system, it has become a trite cliche.

Student activism that hit the colleges and universities in the late 60's is now becoming prevelant in high schools. This activist infiltration is "radicalizing" many of the brightest and most politically aware students just as it did their elders a few years ago. High school student unrest is causing greater problems because the high school administrators are finding that they do not have the flexibility of their university counterparts in adjusting to new student demands. The unrest that is arising has come from the basic problem facing the teachers and students of today: dissatisfaction with the education they are giving and receiving.

Then why does the State allow itself to live with an inadequate educational system? One reason might be that while the effects of bad highways and pollution control are obvious for everyone to see, the harm done by a poor school is far more subtle. The result is deterioration less graphic - but far more tragic. For this reason, the State must continually re-evaluate its educational concepts and methods and be willing to make changes where needed. Therefore:

> We recommend that a new Commission be appointed by the Governor to undertake a complete evaluation of the State's system of education with the purpose of recommending reforms and new directions.

In making this recommendation, the Commission emphasizes that problem-finding is not problem-solving. The real challenge for all who are concerned about the problems discussed here will come when the recommendations must be translated into accomplishments.

FOOTNOTES:

1 "A Place Where Children Learn to be Stupid," Seattle Magazine, March 1970, p. 50.

2 Robert H. Finch, Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare in President Nixon's Administration, 1969-1970.

3 "A Place Where Children Learn to be Stupid," Seattle Magazine, March 1968, p. 30.

4 Report of the Governor's Council on Urban Affairs, "Urban Washington: Apathy or Action?" November 1968.

CHAPTER THREE
Give a damn: SOCIAL ACTION FOR SOCIAL PROBLEMS

The myriad social problems presently confronting the nation are neither of recent origin nor of casual significance; indeed, the conditions of poverty (both rural and urban), hunger and malnutrition, racial prejudice and discrimination, urban deterioration, and environmental despoliation, to cite just a few prominent examples, are historically intrinsic to the American experience. What is new is the remarkable increase in recognition and awareness of such problems on the part of the American public - a development which took place largely during the decade of the 1960's and which has had such an unsettling impact on the American conscience and sense of self-confidence.

This new awareness of the existence of such sharp and deplorable contradictions in American society has been particularly acute among members of the younger generation. In a very real sense, the young served as the spur to the national conscience and consciousness during the early 1960's by seizing these issues as their own and demanding that society as a whole commit itself to participating in the development and implementation of effective solutions; and their own lofty idealism and selfless activism served as a compelling example of what the individual could do to assist in the process. For many it is impossible to explain the enormous expenditure of American lives and resources in Vietnam when important problems remain unsolved at home. Youth see a nation with its priorities out of order, and they cannot understand it, work with it, or even believe in it. In the minds of millions of young Americans the domestic situation is urgent. Their often criticized behavior is a simple manifestation of the level of their frustration. They are not sure where their place is in the American system, and they do not understand the process by which change is effective in their country.

It is the conclusion of the Commission that a solution to the problem of alienation of youth is to actively involve more young people in the social and political life of their communities. Although many new programs have been created in recent years to involve youth, most of them have not been successful. In many cases a genuine purpose or need was not there. A wise course to follow is to involve young citizens in existing community-service agencies and programs and to include them in governmental operations.

FEDERAL AND STATE PROGRAMS

The existence of Social Action Programs in the State of Washington is not new. But they have existed on a meaninglessly small scale. Washington Colleges are already engaged in social action (University of Washington, the STAY tutoring programs), and some high schools recognize the value of students devoting part of their school day to community service. Where high school students have engaged in social work, evidence suggests that the benefits derived by students and society alike more than offset the loss of academic hours in the classroom. Last year about forty high school students from the Bellevue school system worked as teaching assistants at the Cole elementary school in Seattle. Each spent about two hours a week helping teachers direct an individualized reading program. In the words of one girl who worked in the program, "My experience at Cole was worth more than my entire year at the high school." Evidence also suggests that active involvement such as this generally has a positive effect on the attitudes of behavior of participating students. This is especially true of students whose past records suggest that they have not found motivation in the traditional classroom situation. There are hundreds of well established agencies in the State which could offer the same valuable experience as the program described above.

But the answer is not small scale involvement. Each agency and institution must develop such a program to meet the needs.

Who supports a program like this? Although it is apparent that President Nixon

supports a volunteer action program for college campuses, the young people are skeptical of his sincerity. He has given youth support by proposing to lower the voting age to 18 years in all states. In the White House's manual on Volunteer Action the need for involving youth in social action is bluntly stated:

> Working as volunteers allows students to turn their deep concern with social problems to positive rather than destructive ends. The student who cannot do something about his concerns is a frustrated student, and there have been frustrated students among the crowds that cause turmoil on campuses. [1]

If the effort is not made to involve more youth within the American system than have been involved in the past, society might have a costly price to pay. There is very little in the secondary education system today which helps youth understand its role in America or shows them the channels through which they can work for change. Some force must take the initiative, and a proper place is at the local level, within the schools and communities themselves. The President's Urban Affairs Council is already working on a national youth policy. The findings of their studies are worth noting and, in part, explain why the President is probably more concerned in the future about high schools than colleges:

(1) Between the years 1964 and 1968 civil disorders were regarded as primarily racial. Since the beginning of 1968 the disturbances have become more prevalent among students.

(2) Disturbances are moving from universities to high schools. In the last academic year there were 524 institutions of higher learning that faced disturbances. This number is nearly one-fifth of the total number of institutions of higher learning in the United States. Between November 1968 and March 1969 there were 341 known protests in high schools in 38 states and the District of Columbia. White House officials have indicated their concern about high schools. Nationally, there are 26,000 high schools, whereas there are only 2,500 colleges. [2]

Members of the United States Congress also support social action programs as an effective way of bringing youth closer to the social and political process of the nation. On June 17, 1969 twenty-two members of the House of Representatives submitted a thirty-six page report. As a result of the interviews of students and studies made, they reported: "We are convinced that such experiences as social action programs can be an important supplement to the classroom, acting to restore student faith in the basic soundness of the American system." [3] Final statements by the representatives in the report resulted in recommendations. It is interesting that three of the recommendations suggested expansion of youth involvement and work-study programs.

YOUTH INVOLVEMENT IN SOCIAL AND POLITICAL LIFE

The need to actively involve youth in the social and political life of the nation is recognized and discussed at all levels of government. The implementation of workable programs is the next logical step, and timing is important. With this in mind the Commission recommends:

(1) That a State office for social action be established, to be called the "Youth Action Corps," with a small staff to accomplish the following:

   a. To compile a State directory of community service agencies and operations which use volunteer labor.

   b. To devise and implement, where needed, social action programs involving schools and communities alike, with special consideration to ways in which government, private industry, and schools can combine their resources.

   c. To keep the State service directory current, making changes and additions as they come in and sending them out to offices throughout the State.

(1) cont'd

d. To publicize the program through the media services and written materials sent to schools throughout the State.

e. To have experienced people in the State office who can visit schools requesting advice on setting up social action programs.

f. To search for and evaluate new opportunities for social action.

g. To establish short term and long term goals of the Youth Action Corps.

h. To serve as a central clearinghouse for incoming and outgoing information on social action opportunities.

(2) That local Youth Action Corps offices be established wherever there are large concentrations of youth, for example, at high schools and college campuses, and that individual schools, pay full salary to one teacher or staff member to serve as a volunteer services coordinator, working with students, teachers, and community service agencies in placing students in assignments. The local Youth Action Corps or volunteer services coordinator will try to accomplish the following:

a. To work with students, arranging schedules which would permit absence from school (high schools).

b. To work with the different teachers of a student taking a social action assignment, in hopes of coordinating his Youth Action Corps work with his classroom work for some subjects and also in hopes of developing inter-curriculum assignments for the students.

c. To seek and locate agencies in the school community which use volunteers.

d. To recruit with the aid of the school's counselors, students who would especially benefit from active involvement.

e. To work toward a flexible scheduling system (extended school day) which would make it easier for students to take Youth Action Corps assignments during the working day.

FUNDING

The State shall fund the State office. Individual schools will recognize the value of a Youth Action Corps operation in their school, by paying one teacher or staff member a full salary to coordinate the school's Youth Action Corps program. Financial incentives should be offered to schools who establish Youth Action Corps programs if they cannot afford a full-time person. Private industry should realize that grants to schools for a Youth Action Corps are an indirect way of giving to a good cause. A Youth Action Corps coordinator who succeeds in getting release time for fifty students for one day a week, renders an invaluable and very costly service to the community organizations that benefit from the hundreds of hours of volunteer labor given each week. The community service agencies can rely upon Youth Action Corps coordinators to supply their volunteer manpower, thus freeing themselves for more important efforts.

In addition to the above needs youth involvement in legislative sessions should be imperative for exposure and educational purposes. This would be most effectively felt in the lobby groups of the legislative sessions. Due to the costs of maintaining such, it shall not be permanent, and it will be funded by individual student governments from throughout the State. Meeting to review proposed legislation will be held at some convenient location prior to the legislative sessions. All schools will be invited

to send representatives to the pre-legislature meeting where the youth lobby will be organized. Students anticipating to lobby during the legislative sessions will plan quarter and semester schedules which will allow them the time in Olympia. High school and college credit will be given to students coordinating their work in the political process with normal classroom work. The number of credits given should be flexible, depending on the amount of time spent lobbying and the amount of time spent on research and writing reports related to issues debated in the current legislative session. Therefore:

> We recommend that young people establish themselves as lobbyists prior to and during all legislative sessions to include those people between the ages of 18 and 21.

It is felt by the Commission that many positive benefits will result in the fuller use of school facilities, especially in those districts where high school facilities are presently used to maximum capacity during the current school day. The extended school day would permit flexible scheduling, allowing students the opportunity to do volunteer work part-time during the business day and to also volunteer for community service projects. It should also result in a greater economic use of costly facilities, thus, bringing savings to the taxpayer over a longer period of time. It will make it possible to schedule two and three hour courses for certain subjects where it is suitable for one or two meetings a week. Under the extended school day, work-study programs, internships in government, and community service could easily be added to the high school curriculum. With few changes or additions in facilities, high schools could become a healthy environment and meeting place in the evenings for students. Therefore:

> We recommend that the State Legislature and Department of Public Instruction recommend to State school districts that they work toward extending the school day from mid-afternoon (3:00 p.m.) until mid-evening (9 or 10 p.m.).
>
> We further recommend to the Department of Public Instruction and State school districts that a four quarter or trimester school year be adopted by State schools, thus using school facilities year around and allowing students and their families to choose which nine months they will attend.

The day will soon come when recreational facilities nationwide will be so fully used at peak times of the year that this will become a necessity. An extended school year will also make it easy for students to do field work for school credit in social action programs and to take full-time assignments with governmental agencies without conflicting with the present multi-course schedule of the student.

In order to further youth participation in legislative sessions, the establishment of a youth day would be most appropriate. An open forum can be held on pending bills at which time youth can present their arguments for and against and present any bills of their own. As soon as proposed bills are made public, copies will be sent to social science departments (high schools) and to selected college departments, where classes studying government and the political process can research and debate the bills and make assignments which will bring students to the legislative sessions in Olympia. Therefore:

> We recommend that Youth Day be established once a month during State Legislative sessions, during the first week of each month.

The Commission recognizes the failure of high school and college classes in government and political process to teach students how to effectively use the political process. The Commission feels strongly that there is no substitute for being actively involved in the process. It does not seem feasible to require a student to take an assignment in the social or political process, but one so doing should be given credit for partially fulfilling the requirements of his course work. Students who elect to spend extensive time on assignments and to do research in conjunction with the assignment should be given an appropriate number of academic credits for their work: Therefore:

We recommend that high schools and colleges seek ways of actively involving students in the political and social process of their communities and state, and that opportunities or assignments become an established part of all government courses.

MINORITY GROUPS

This committee has gained valuable testimony and suggestions from minority youth and people who work with them. In the course of investigations, it became painfully apparent that many vista-like projects were causing great dissatisfaction within minority communities. Complaints of "Great White God" attitudes have been plentiful. The people in the communities want to control their own destinies. They do not want outsiders telling what they must or should do. Members of the Black, Indian, and Oriental communities all expressed strong feelings against new white volunteer programs with vista approaches. Minority groups have shown a desire for more self-help and self-determination projects. The Harambee Neighborhood Recreation Program in Seattle and Tacoma is one of the programs that is not economically oriented, but simply, "Blacks trying to help their brothers and sisters."* Therefore:

We recommend that corporation or private funds be matched by the State to get these projects started.

Note: *The Harambee Neighborhood Recreation Program provides projects such as Panther breakfasts for young children.

Also, many agencies are unhappy with the present method of fund distribution and, as a result, several review proposals were offered to us. The most important point of these suggestions was that they all felt youth should be on boards that provide funds for youth programs, minorities should be on boards that fund poverty programs. We support this idea and therefore:

We recommend that the State correct those boards that currently do not follow this policy.

We further recommend that city, state, federal and especially state social action agencies be compelled to hire youth from low-income family situations to fill positions.

The State Department of Public Assistance's "Swinger Program" has been a good example: however, the pay scale is so low ($280 a month) that the program is little more than a token and cannot be expected to have any far reaching effect on poverty or averting the violence that develops out of frustration with the system. Increasing emphasis should be placed upon hiring of untrained recipients in these programs. Therefore:

We recommend the adoption of the Tulsa Youth Council's resolution: "That all youth-serving agencies either place a youth on their board of directors and/or create a youth advisory board to allow for the effective involvement of youth in the real decision making process."

This would be a first step toward closing a communication and channel gap. Another gap may be closed between young blacks and police with a simple program. For example, some Florida cities are now attaining mutual understanding through an experience program. Therefore:

We recommend that local police invite young blacks to spend a couple of nights a month with them on their patrols. A short meeting and explanation precedes the actual experience each time. The value of this confrontation exercise to both parties cannot be overrated.

We further recommend that a mobile, summer emergency State youth force to work as preventative and rescue force for a variety of summer emergencies and surprises could be helpful.

BLACK COMMUNITY

Many outside programs that try to really do something for the people are presented in the wrong manner. Problems are arising with so much white help, because blacks fear that their children will identify white with success symbols and develop an attitude of "only whites care." More black employment opportunity must be created - this is still visible as a major problem. The youth task force could possibly be utilized by organizing a labor force for "non-profit development corporations to construct quality, low-cost housing for the poor inside and outside ghettos." This idea came as a result of a proposal for youth to help build and found low-cost open, multi-racial New Towns in Washington. The above mentioned group could also repair other homes.

Nearly all students at Washington State University favor expansion of two new programs that have had tangible success. One program brings drop-outs to the campus to complete their education in order to receive a high school diploma - HEP (High School Equivalence Program). Special student and faculty help is made available to them. The other program brings under-privileged, under-financed minority students to the campus in order to provide them with a college degree - EPP (Experimental Educational Program). Here, too, a special effort is made to provide extra help. In spite of the fact that they are understaffed and under-financed, they are succeeding. Therefore:

> We recommend that the next legislature appropriate special funds for those programs as exist at Washington State University, or change the existing law that prevents students from allocating tuition increases to them.

We would commend the schools in this state that have already instituted the teaching of the Black studies. Young people want to know and understand the truth about themselves and their peers. Omitting any part of that truth would be stealing a chance for identity from the minorities.

The Washington Indian: A FERMENTING PROBLEM

The Indian story must be taught objectively in public schools as well as on the reservation. In this way, tomorrow's citizens may be able to grasp the problems that have been created before their birth.

Testimony from reservation Indians indicated that supportive services and supportive funding are needed badly - not a new agency. Services and funding must be on a year round basis and programmed in such a way that outside help does not quickly consume volunteer funds. A possible investigating team may be needed to expose specific needs on each reservation. Present governmental programs are too often aimed at removing the Indian - not building Indian communities. The present system destroys the Indian social structure while ignoring the need for jobs for the heads of families.

These conditions may contribute very much to high school drop outs (60 - 100% on several reservations) and suicides (10 deaths, 52 attempts in 1961) in Washington). The fact that nearly all of these suicide attemps occurred in the winter and spring is linked, people claim, to the government's season programs.

The young Indians are generally bitter over denied fishing rights and the fact that their resources are used to run non-Indian industry. Therefore:

> We recommend that future government (most of all, federal) Indian programs be aimed at maintaining a cultural integrity - aimed especially at developing a person as an Indian first and then fitting him into society.
>
> We further recommend that a study be made on the possibilities of a fishing fleet and processing plant to be owned and operated solely by Indians.

Technical assistance could be provided by professionals and the youth task force. The task force may also be able to take on special labor projects - such as flooding and damage or housing projects.

THE ORIENTAL MINORITY

This group seems to be in the process of identifying its goals. The people interviewed perceived a situation where education has gotten them no further than the middle-management positions. Some recommended that the State institute bills which would encourage a large trade with the Far East, but this committee can recommend no specific involvement for youth here, as yet.

FOOTNOTES:

1 Jack Anderson, Editorial, Seattle Post Intelligencer, September 6, 1969.

2 U. S. News & World Report, November 17, 1969, pp. 74-78.

3 Bill Brock, "Report to the President on Student Unrest," June 17, 1969.

CHAPTER FOUR
STATE GOVERNMENT - INVOLVEMENT OR APATHY?

Youth programs:

As its first project, the state government committee undertook to make a survey of the existing programs in state government dealing with youth. The purpose of this survey was to gain an overview, to bring into focus the state's relationships with young people. However, the programs were of an unexpected quantity and diversity - so much so that, in fact, they resist focusing into one comprehensive description. It is doubtful whether anyone in state government really had an overview of how state government reaches youth. Here is a summary of that survey.

Education programs:

The Department of Institutions sponsors a program called "Tell It Like It Is" in which selected prison inmates travel around to various youth groups informing them of the true nature of criminal life. At the correction center level, the program is called "Teen Alert."

A total educational experience is the thrust of the "Youth Development and Conservation Corps" of the Parks and Recreation Commission. This program began in 1961 and since has trained some 1,100 boys in a six week camp program giving them vocational skill, exposure to good work habits and a sense of responsibility and contribution to society. The program is open to any youth 21 years of age or younger.

The Department of Labor and Industries provides for pilot programs through the public school system called "Outreach to the World of Work." Its objective is to prepare young people to successfully enter the world of labor. This program requires a great deal of coordination among industry, educators, labor groups, and civic and social organizations to provide the student with a full range of information about opportunities open to him. Presently, the department's Division of Apprenticeship and Training is serving as consulting support for various advisory committees.

Traffic safety programs and driver education are part of the Washington State Patrol's youth education effort. These are carried out through cooperation with the public school system and correctional institutions. Both driver education and drugs and driving are the prime emphasis of the program.

A conservation education program is conducted by the Department of Fisheries public information section through the public school system.

The Military Department conducts a summer camp for under-privileged children when available facilities permit. In 1968, 1,500 children lived at Camp Murray and experienced all forms of camper training and outdoor sports. This year, due to the lack of facilities, the department was only able to provide for 100 children on a day-camp basis.

Employment programs:

The Department of Public Assistance sponsors a program to employ approximately 750 teenagers between the ages of 16 and 20 whose parents are on welfare. It helps provide these families with supplemental income and meaningful work experiences for the young people. Their salary meets the minimum wage. The range of their duties included help in day-care centers, case aids for the Department of Public Assistance, tutors for small children and help to various administrators. The program called "Swinger" seemed

to meet its goals on all counts, and is spoken of with enthusiasm by participants.

The Department of Natural Resources provides a college work study program, federally financed in part with the department paying 25-40% of the students' wages. The purpose is to aid needy college students financially in continuing their education. The program, which was initiated in 1965, has employed as high as 29 and low as 13, with the low point hitting this summer. The department keeps five students on a part-time basis during the year.

Another federally financed program administered by the Department of Natural Resources is the Neighborhood Youth Corps. This program provides additional income for those children from disadvantaged families, enabling them to continue their high school education and provide job training along the way. Federal funds were terminated August 31, 1969. When the program was initiated, up to 400 young people were employed. At present, there is a possibility that 12 may be employed in the future.

The Apprenticeship Program is under the Department of Labor and Industries in cooperation with the Joint Apprenticeship Councils throughout the state. It makes an active effort to interest youth in apprenticeship trades.

The Office of Economic Opportunity is directly involved in minority and disadvantaged youth employment. This office has recently submitted proposals to the Governor's office for youth involvement. The result of these proposals is not determined as this report is submitted.

Under the Department of Commerce and Economic Development are programs of direct youth employment. Disadvantaged youth were employed in the Olympia office, and throughout the state in Tourist Information Centers.

Through the Western Interstate Commission for Higher Education, college students were employed by the Department of Commerce and Economic Development. The wages of these two students were paid with Federal funds.

Interns and Advisors:

The Parks and Recreation Commission provides facilities for organized youth groups through its program of resident youth camps. The Commission provides in a similar manner consulting to groups on camping and outdoor recreation through workshops and seminars.

The summer intern program in the Department of Personnel encompasses many of the state's departments and agencies, plus being part of the employment and educational efforts of state government. Not only does it hope to provide a meaningful work experience for the student (college through graduate level), but the State gains from the student's skills in many cases.

The program was evaluated by the interns this summer and recommendations were made in the areas of more meaningful work assignments, broader recruitment and closer evaluation of the student's work. The program hires about 80 students each summer.

White House Conference on Children and Youth:

Though the White House Conference on Children and Youth is getting little encouragement from the present administration in Washington, D.C., the State White House Conference held a small scale conference in Seattle on April 16 and 17, 1970. Eight regions have been formed and over 250 staff resource people connected with the State government have been appointed. The involvement of youth in the issue development phase of planning for the State's participation in the White House Conference in Washington, D.C. suggests the most significant opportunities for youth involvement in this state. Problem areas, including education, drug abuse, civil disorder and legal rights

of youth, have been and are being investigated in preparation for the White House Conference.

Representation in Government:

If young and old thought alike on all questions, age would be immaterial when it comes to representation in government. However, the existence of some sort of "generation gap" is something few people will deny. Age does make a difference when attitudes on public questions are examined.

And yet, the boards and commissions that determine policy in many different areas of state government are notably devoid of young members. This fact springs quite naturally from the fact that members are usually chosen from a list of prominent people in the state. Since it usually takes a considerable amount of time to become prominent, young people are seldom on these lists. Therefore:

> We recommend that a conscious effort be made by the Governor and others involved to bring younger people into the decision-making processes of state government when practicable.

This recommendation is made because of the principle involved, and not because of any specific complaint against such boards and commissions as they stand now. We believe appointment of younger citizens to such commissions and boards as Parks & Recreation, Arts, Commerce & Economic Development would have positive, but not earth-shaking, results.

The principle can be extended to such specialized boards as physicians examining boards and problem advisory boards, which are appointed from time to time by the Governor.

Probably the most logical place to allow policy participation to young people is in the colleges and universities. Some public universities, colleges and junior colleges have been making an attempt to do this by bringing students onto various committees within the school's administration. This is a nationwide trend and promises to strengthen the higher education system to everyone's benefit. Therefore:

> We urge all public school administrators to invite students to take a part in forming and bettering their school through participation in policy determination.

It is the belief of most Washington State college students that this representation must reach right up to the boards of trustees and regents. In the last session of the legislature, the student body governments of all five schools combined to back a bill requested by the Governor which would have allowed students on these boards.

There is a definite trend across the country toward appointment of younger people to governing boards. Kansas has had students on the board of regents of their colleges and universities for some years. Recently, Massachusetts passed a law giving students in state colleges and universities the right to elect one member of the student body to their boards. Princeton University appointed a 21 year-old senior to the board of trustees last spring. Kentucky now has students as ex-officio members, and Vermont is contemplating the move. In addition, recent graduates of the universities of Maine, Vanderbilt, Lehigh, New York City have been appointed to ruling boards.

In general, placing students on Washington's boards of trustees can be expected to have these favorable results:

1. It will improve communications from students to trustees. Most trustees spend very little time on the campus they govern. As a result, they often make decisions on far-reaching matters without a real understanding of what students feel. A student trustee would have such communication as a primary responsibility.

2. It will improve communications from trustees to students. Many students hold trustees responsible for unpopular decisions and make no effort to see the other side of the question. When trustees choose to defend or explain their actions (which they seldom do), they generally meet with a hostile audience of students. A student trustee would speak with credibility to fellow students, opening communications from the top down once again.

3. It would make for a stronger system of policy evaluation. Forming policy for a college in the absence of students makes little sense in a country which operates at every level on the principle of republicanism. If policies are going to be accepted by all sectors of the college community, they must be determined by all sectors.

Moderate students on campus, especially those in student governments, are seeking solutions to campus strife as sincerely as administrators and legislators. But to compete with radicals for student loyalty when dissatisfaction is common, those working within the system must be able to point to the avenues open to peaceful changes. Opening the boards of trustees and regents to students would be a way to make students more responsible and the school more responsive. Therefore:

We recommend that the boards of trustees and regents of the state colleges and universities be expanded to include a member of their respective student bodies.

As with the universities and colleges, the State also lacks youth involvement in its machinery. Students are ignored and so the gap grows large. If youth were able to participate on boards or commissions, the young people would feel more a part of the presently structured system, and the State would be more aware of the needs of youth.

Additionally, even though the State does sponsor and support several youth programs, they do not seem to achieve effectiveness because of appallingly poor coordination. A great problem has arisen because it currently seems to be the vogue for each department of state government to have its own youth program. Instead of coordinating themselves as one unit, each department functions within itself and knows very little what the other departments are doing for youth.

This makes knowledge of state government and related youth operations difficult for young people, already largely ignorant of the operations of state government. This also results in a less efficient expenditure of the taxpayers' money.

Also, it seems that though many governmental agencies wish to do more to communicate with the young, they lack sufficient knowledge of the emergent generation to know how to attack the problems. Therefore, in order to meet these problems:

We recommend that the State create a Department of Youth Opportunities which would fulfill the following functions:

1. Coordinate the youth activities of the various state agencies. This office should have the power of inter-agency budgetary review so that state funds are not expended until they have been coordinated into an over-all State plan to meet the problems of the young. This agency would also have information on all of the youth programs of the State and would be a central place for youth and those concerned with youth to go to discover what opportunities are available.

2. Assist in the formulation and operation of local youth groups, council, and city advisory boards so that various local governments will have better direction and not repeat the mistakes of others.

3. Serve as a resource and advisory body to the State's executive, especially concerning the appointment of young people to various State boards and commissions.

4. The Department would also be responsible for drafting legislation on youth-related matters for the attention of the Legislature.

5. To serve as staff for the Governor's Youth Involvement Commission and to assist the Department of Personnel with recruitment and job development for the intern programs, and minority and disadvantaged youth employment.

6. Staff and assist any later commissions and task forces which are created.

7. Operate a fact-finding agency for State government, especially for departments which are required to react promptly (i.e., Governor's office, Attorney General, Secretary of State and related departments) during crises or confrontations on youth-related issues. This role should also be expanded to include the possible role of a mediator in solving such problems and easing tensions.

8. Research and communicate ways of interacting with Federal youth programs, especially with procuring of Federal funds.

CHAPTER FIVE
THE CHALLENGE OF COMMUNITY GOVERNMENT

A credibility gap is said to exist between the many levels of government and the people. At the local level, our committee has found that this lack of communication is most severe. For the youth of the State of Washington, local government is clearly a nonentity, the type of thing a person is likely to consider once, but then drop in favor of something more challenging, like who is going to win the World Series this year.

The Local Government Committee studied the relationship between youth and local government in Washington, and attempted to formulate several recommendations to increase both the quantity and quality of youth-government interaction.

This, in the final analysis, may prove to be an extremely difficult and nearly impossible task. In our interviews with county and city officials and students, particularly those of high school age, the committee found considerable apathy on both sides, mixed with minimal amounts of concern about what the other side is doing. Youth, in general, either don't care about what their city and county officials are doing, or, when they have some ideas, don't know how to implement them. Local government officials, on the other hand, tend to look on youth only with concern for problems such as delinquency or outward demonstrations of dissent. They tend to be unable, and in many cases unwilling, to communicate with the young or formulate programs that young people could support and spearhead.

To collect its data, the committee conducted interviews in person, and by telephone and mail. Questionnaires were sent to commissioners in all thirty-nine counties, to mayors in cities with population exceeding 10,000 persons and to superintendents of schools. Some of these same persons were later contacted on an individual basis, as were others not directly involved with local government. In addition, a large number of high school and college students in the state were questioned in an attempt to clarify the attitudes of youth toward local government.

Youth and Local Government:

Intrinsic to all schemes for encouraging cooperation between local government officials and young people is an analysis of both groups' attitudes toward one another. If the situation were one of uniform mutual antipathy, obviously little could be done. However, such is definitely not the case, and though the situation is not particularly encouraging, the committee found numerous signs especially among the brighter high school students, that workable programs could be formulated.

Only a few government officials seem to have an open mind with regard to youth involvement in community affairs. Most local officials have only a vague idea about possible programs and courses of action to be taken in order to get youth involved in local government and local programs. With relatively few exceptions, there were no well-defined ideas for increasing cooperation volunteered by city officials. The attitude discovered in many regions of the State was of extreme non-commitment. Often those in agreement with the concept of youth involvement usually did not favor extensive youth action in community affairs - at least not in areas of planning and administration.

Governmental officials also tended to look upon youth as a special interest group with a limited horizon and scope. Young people, they felt, might be of some use on committees planning a recreation center, but not on those concerned with non-youth related subjects.

Furthermore, many officials expressed interest in youth involvement only because they viewed it as a means of preventing trouble, rather than as a program with potential for positive governmental benefits. As one commission member characterized this attitude, "The sewers are overflowing, the buses aren't running, and the kids are in the streets." Officials too often tend to categorize as troublemakers or radicals those students who disagree with city policies, and, therefore, react negatively to student activism, no matter how appropriate that activism may be.

Also, the committee found opinions of youth were sometimes rejected because young people too often have taken very narrow viewpoints on local affairs. Officials felt that youth focused only on aspects of problems that were easily related to their own special interests, rarely considering the ramifications of the solutions they proposed.

On the other hand, the committee found youth's attitude toward local government and all its workings characterized, by a complex mixture of cynicism, apathy and ignorance.

Local government, many youths feel, is a very bad combination of corruption and inefficiency. The image of local politicians has been tarnished by failures to successfully cope with the growing problems of society. These failures, in many cases, are attributed to the motives of officials rather than the complexities of the problems.

There is little communication between youth and their government; consequently, there is also little in the way of trust. Youth often rejected the possibility of communication because they felt the leadership lacks the capacity to understand. Some also feel that government will reject or give only token treatment to programs originating with young people.

Youth apathy, the committee found, is widespread although to no greater a degree than in the general population. This apathy, moreover, is reinforced by the general attitudes of society. Youth are not felt to be qualified, nor are they expected to be constructively concerned. Local government is not high on the list of student priorities. Governmental services are seen as a right and not a responsibility. With no vote and no access to official channels, government remains someone else's problem.

Finally, youth's attitude toward local government is determined to a significant degree by ignorance. There is a lack of knowledge and comprehension of the workings of government, and of the services it offers. Many young people tend to make judgments unaware of their lack of information. They tend to blame local government for things local government has no control over, and fail to realize because of their inadequate backgrounds the many administrative problems government agencies face. Also, the fact that political positions require compromise, is seen by young people as a betrayal of the public trust.

However, many of the above attitudes, while negative in viewpoint, point to a positive resource. The sensitivity to our social problems demonstrated by youth could, if properly channeled, be a valuable resource for better government.

However, the present lack of interaction has created ignorance and ill-will between government and young people. This has been so greatly manifested that, in moments of social stress, communications break down rapidly and serious polarization occurs. Prolonged polarization, in turn, leads to alienation.

What Youth Recommends:

The committee found that in some areas attempts are being made to rectify this situation. Youth councils have recently been formed in Richland and Everett as departments of city government; and Spokane, where a council is in the formative stages. These are examples of a few of the State's communities that are honestly trying to achieve a meaningful measure of interaction.

It is the belief of this committee that if local government made the proper

effort to join with young people, the experience would be worthwhile for both parties. Such efforts must be consistent with the general tone of young people's life styles. A forced spoon-feeding approach will not be effective. Therefore:

We recommend that local governments create, sponsor, and give full cooperation to local youth councils and commissions, each of which will serve a four-part purpose in the community. The councils will:

1. Promote interaction of government and youth through a close working relationship with governmental officials in the solution of community-wide problems;

2. Serve as the primary educational link to the political realities and complexities of local government for the youth as well as an educational experience for those officials who associate with the group. The experience of working with policy-making officials and of helping to plan projects of community consequence would be invaluable to the involved youth. Likewise, the experience of associating with bright, eager and creative young people might clear up many misconceptions about youth held by officialdom;

3. Report to governmental agencies, in the role of a fact-finding task force, on serious trouble spots in the city administration, or in youth affairs. Youth would work as agents of the city or county, gathering information, doing surveys, and drawing conclusions and making recommendations;

4. Act as a force for good will and public relations for those segments of the city covered in this report.

We recommend that youth be involved in any discussions leading to the creation of these organizations in order that the goals of any such council be clearly understood by both parties.

We further recommend that these youth councils engage in the following activities:

1. Survey youth attitudes in an attempt to discern possible friction spots between city government and the community. In addition, the councils should have as one of its primary priorities the identification of the needs of youth in the community.

2. Be available as a thought resource for a variety of city problems, a resource that might otherwise not be used. Reports on community problems should be issued by this group.

3. Act as an ombudsman and legal counsel for youth with local government.

4. Actively educate high school students in matters of government, and on the complexities of community problems.

5. Provide persons from its membership to sit on government committees and boards as observers and ex-officio members.

We recommend that membership of the council be composed one-third adults and two-thirds young people of high school and college age.

We recommend that part of the council's membership be appointed by various related officials, and that part be elected by high school and college student bodies. Every effort should be made to see that a representative sample of student opinion is included.

We recommend that a full-time adviser be employed by the sponsoring agency to act as liaison between the council and government, and to provide the expertise necessary to carry out the council's functions.

We recommend that a program of internship in the decision-making part of government be created. Interns should be given employment in areas that will give them experience in working in city affairs.

Because the unit of local government most directly concerned with young people is the school system, we recommend the inclusion of a student member on local school boards who is elected by appropriate student bodies. Youth should also have representation on those policy-making bodies directly affecting them.

We recommend that the public educational system upgrade in importance its treatment of local government, and create curriculum with some measure of sophistication and realism.

We recommend the creation of a state agency to coordinate the activities of existing youth councils, and to provide information guidelines and educational materials to those communities interested in beginning a new program.

CHAPTER SIX
The uses of politics: A MEANS TOWARD ENDS

The Political Process Committee has attempted to catalog a cross-section of the political attitudes of todays' youth. We utilized an open hearing procedure so that all of the expressed variants would be on record. These groups included: YMCA, Youth Legislature, Young Republicans, Young Democrats, College Republican League, Black Student Union, Action for Washington, Youth for Rockefeller, CHOICE, Associated Students of the University of Washington, Young Socialists, Ripon Society, CHECC, Japanese Student League, the New Conservatives, and Mexican-Americans.

Further, we solicited the opinions of educators, established politicians, and a variety of young people who have no political affiliations.

Several studies were made available to us which further confirmed the opinions that had been revealed through our interviewing process.

One of the major concerns of the Political Process Committee is the lack of trust and confidence most young people have in our present political system. Throughout our hearings we found that most young people feel they have no place in what they consider to be a closed political process. A Louis Harris Survey shows 59% of those in the 16 to 20 year age group agree that the people running this country don't want to listen to what young people have to say.

Within this report we will look at ways to make the system more accessible to youth.

Renewing the confidence of youth in our political system is absolutely vital if we are to continue as a democratic society. The Commission feels that the perpetuation of democratic ideals not only must be done, but that it can be done. We offer a set of recommendations which, if put into effect, can meet this great challenge.

One fact was agreed upon: there is no place for issue-oriented youth to function within the present system.

Political organizations such as Young Republicans and Young Democrats appear to be restricted by senior parties. The young progressives who feel no attachment to a party are reluctant to affiliate. Further, such youth oriented groups have small membership, fail to represent an ethnic cross-section of our society and are not viewed as significant vehicles for actions by young leaders.

The active groups are those centered around issues, or around a candidate because of his stand on issues, as for example those young people who organized for Rockefeller and for McCarthy, or youth who are identified as "militant."

The committee quickly found that the most significant problem of our present political system is lack of access. It also became apparent that this problem of access, coupled with a lack of knowledge of how our political process operates, has doomed most youth efforts to failure almost before they begin. This failure can be seen in the defeat of candidates such as Rockefeller and McCarthy (and in this state Art Fletcher) who were candidates that appealed to the youth of the nation and the state. This failure is demonstrated by the death of most legislative reform which youth consider important. Finally, this failure is revealed by the inability of youth to have issues which it considers important acted upon by the various governmental bodies of this state. The realization of these failures has caused many young people to reject or become alienated from our present political system. On the other hand, the success of an organization such as Action for Washington has caused its leaders to become deeply involved in improving and changing the

Washington State political system. This committee feels that if youth is ever to realize its full potential for political action there must first be formed an instrument which can effect the goals and concerns which are held in common by youth. While young people have many and varied concerns, this committee discovered that young people express certain common concerns which they felt could serve as an adequate basis for such an organization (18 year-old vote, legal rights, change in the draft laws, for example).

It is our feeling that, as competing businesses can join forces to achieve goals beneficial to the industry as a whole, so young people with varied political philosophies can join forces for a common good. A non-partisan organization could bring together the information, resources, and people necessary for young people to achieve significant power. Every group interviewed saw the value of a unified organization bringing together youth from various groups to work for common concerns. Therefore:

We recommend to the youth and particularly the young leaders of this state that they form such a political action organization.

We further recommend that the Governor or such person appointed by the Governor assist the young people in the political action organization.

Precinct Organization:

In addition to the survey on how young people could become involved in the political process through a Political Process Committee, examination of present practices on the precinct level was also made.

In the State of Washington there are certain practices and characteristics which are common to all precincts. Precinct organization is based on the two party system which tends to exclude those who are not active Republicans or Democrats. The activities of the precinct organization are not generally publicized and are in many cases shielded from the view of precinct residents who should be and want to be involved. These characteristics of the precinct tend to prevent it from being the open door to participation it should be.

The misuse of precincts is not illegal in the State of Washington. The Revised Code of Washington is vague and lacking in statutes guaranteeing open participation in the precinct caucuses for all citizens.

Analysis of the Revised Code of Washington revealed no strict governing of the precinct organization.* It is free to meet when and where its committeemen desire without notice to the public or precinct voters and to "make its own rules and regulations" (RCW 29.42.010). The precinct organization is empowered by the State to close its organization to the public instead of making its practices and participation open to the citizenry. To young people, these practices typify many gross inadequacies of the political process. It is at this basic level that politically concerned young people have their first contact and first disillusionment with the "system."

Note: *Election procedures are covered in Title 29. The following sections concern directly with citizen participation: 29.04.040, 050, 055, 29.42.010, 020, 030, 040, 050.

As we have noted, furthermore the youth of today tend to be more issue and candidate oriented than party oriented. The precinct organization, however, is based on party and its candidates and has no room for youth who have not been long-term party "work horses." One member of a county central committee stated that "Young people are welcome to enter the government at the precinct level provided they play ball with the veterans. We don't want anyone who is going to rock the boat."

The following incident was related by one of the leaders of the University of Washington Rockefeller campaign. He wanted to attend the precinct caucus in order to influence the choice of delegates to the district, state, and ultimately the national convention.

The precinct caucus, supposedly governed by legislation, is to post a notice before each meeting. The rule in this case was abused; either by not posting the notice or

posting it where no one would be able to see it. The Rockefeller campaigners were therefore unable to find the precinct caucuses. The King County Central Committee was uncooperative and would not help the young people locate the various caucuses. Testimony indicates this type of conduct by precinct organizations was not peculiar to Seattle nor to the Rockefeller campaign. It was prevalent across the country in both parties.

Within present law, youth can be prevented from participation by organization heads who close the political process to those opinions, goals and ideals different from their own.

There is a division of thought concerning the best means for youth to make their voices heard. Many say that the only hope for young people to become involved in the political process at all levels is through the precinct while many others are convinced that even with new legislation effective participation in the precinct organization is almost impossible for many youth simply because they differ in thinking and approach with the party organization. Some feel that youth would be more effective participating in issue and candidate organizations rather than in a party.

Examination of the evidence indicates that in order to involve young people in significant numbers in the political system, two things are necessary:

1. Initiate legislation to effect the opening of the precinct to all citizens;

2. Form an organization as described in the following recommendation.

Therefore:

We recommend that precinct chairmen be designated as public officials and, as such, be libel for failure to enforce such legislation as designated by the legislature to insure open precinct meetings to all registered voters residing in the precinct.

We further recommend that such legislation be passed in the next legislative session.

High School Involvement:

An area of grave concern is that of high school involvement in the political process. It is not that youth are apathetic, but that they are not given a full political education. From the committee's investigations it was evident the high school civics and government classes are inadequate, irrelevant and in no way prepare their students for the responsibilities of citizenship. These investigations revealed incomplete and outdated text books, teachers who relate an apathetic attitude toward government and politics, plus a lack of current material in the fields of the present party system, current urban problems, and the economic crisis.

Reinforcing the above problem is the lack of a strong and adequate speaker program which would enable informative and vital people to relate current problems and to encourage youth participation in the solving of these problems through the political process.

Whereas school administrators and faculty feel that students may be lead into unstable political beliefs because of their inability to differentiate between indoctrination and education, a good speaker program would improve the total system and make it more acceptable to everyone. It is imperative for the total education of our youth that a varied speaker program be instituted across the State.

There is a need for the introduction of political groups in our high schools. Today we see the Black Student Union, Students for Democratic Society, Young Americans for Freedom, and other groups soliciting support in our schools throughout the country; yet, students are unable to start clubs within the schools. It is our feeling that high school students should be given the opportunity to start groups which they deem worthwhile.

Therefore:

We recommend the revision of high school curriculum in order to teach the students the responsibilities of citizenship.

We recommend that students may form and perpetuate political clubs of all types on our public school campuses.

Black Involvement:

A most critical issue in the American political system today is the involvement of black people. The past and still prevalent alienation of blacks depicts a gross weakness in our present political system.

Black Student Union Presidents from three different colleges in Washington were interviewed for this report. As a basis for the interview, the three following questions were posed:

1. Why are the pre-existing organizations with party-orientation not getting black involvement?

2. What must these groups do to get black involvement?

3. What additional groups or efforts are needed to develop a better image for the Black Student Union in facilitating their work with other groups?

Black political involvement has been stifled by the two major parties, as well as other traditional political groups. They function with the majority foremost in mind, paying little heed to blacks or any other minority interests. Instead, to quote one interviewee, "They prefer to use us as platform springboards or as pawns in the political chess manuever."

The black man feels that the Great American Dream does not include him. The white man demands that those who wish to partake of the dream must conform to a set mode of standards and ethics. The black man does not, by and large, think or act in accordance with that model. There does not appear to be a great effort on the part of the political parties to include blacks in a significant way in their organization. Many blacks feel that when they do become active in political organizations they must change in order to participate. Referring to the approach of the parties, one young black bitterly expostulated: "This is how it has been done and this is how it will be and this is what we are aiming at. Doesn't it sound interesting? Bring your bodies and leave your minds at home. After all, we are an equal opportunity group."

The committee found black people suspicious of any advances by white organizations. Blacks will only join or work with predominantly white groups when it can be proven that they will profit from the association. According to many blacks there will be no more "marriages" - only alliances which change with self-interest. The presidents of the Black Student Union groups stated: "The party machine encased in their racist, sterile, middle-class glass cages cannot refuse to grasp the frustration that has brought us to this way of thinking. And to protect their pre-established ideas they have shunned those activist groups in hope that they will go away one way or another." Again: "As to the question of encouragement of Blacks into party participation, I feel that there must be a great deal of internal reorganization to give the party structure more flexibility."

Many blacks expressed no desire to be placed under a central youth action group, but many felt an information coordinating center would be valuable. They also specified that such an organization would have to have a genuine interest in the black identity movement.

"The Third World," an organization of non-whites, is referred to by the black students as the way for them to become unified. They feel that it can provide a more

effective tactic than violence or rebellion in gaining more significant involvement. For the black people, the "Third World" organizations might be the answer.

But for a new society, for a society in which members of all races can live together, we need more than this. We must strive to bring everyone together, or allow racial separation and strife. One of our goals has been to suggest changes that can bring all rades and philosophies together.

Therefore:

We recommend concrete steps to be taken to insure the inclusion of blacks within the political process in the State of Washington.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Youth and the Law: THE QUESTION OF JUSTICE vs. ORDER

Adults are concerned about law and order; so are young people, but from a different viewpoint. Young people desire first the rights and equality under law guaranteed by the Constitution.

Law Enforcement:

We do not claim that selective law enforcement is a problem peculiar to youth, but as with other minority groups - Blacks, Indians, Mexican-Americans - youth are frequently the popular victims of police harassment. Although a majority of young people have not personally had an experience with selective enforcement, more than 75 per cent of the young people surveyed expressed their concern about the inequities of the problem.

Nearly every young person knows either directly or indirectly, a peer who has been physically or mentally harassed by an officer of the law. The harassment comes in various forms: abusive language, arbitrary enforcement of traffic laws, assault, and illegal searches. Last summer, for example, during the week of the riots in the University District in Seattle, a student, returning to his car after studying, was rushed by a band of police. He was roughed up and his car was $100.00 damaged. The police wore no badges, so the student could not recover damages or report the incident.

Another popular target of police harassment is the "underground" newspaper salesman. Salesmen practicing free enterprise are "busted" for any number of trumped up charges ranging from loitering to obscenity - which tells youth that the establishment is suppressing freedom of expression.

A flagrantly abused police power is "open charge," or "John Doe," arrests. An open charge warrant is the most valuable harassment tool for the police. With an open charge warrant, a person can be arrested on suspicion and there is no provision for bail. The only requirement is that the arrested person be charged within a "reasonable time." "Reasonable time" varies from vicinity to vicinity; in King County it is generally 72 hours; in Spokane, 48 hours. However, it is not unusual to be held without charge for four days and longer, regardless of the local ordinance.

To illustrate the above statements, a University of Washington student drove through a stop sign in Seattle. He was stopped by police, frisked, hand-cuffed and his car was searched. He was then arrested on a "John Doe warrant" and taken to jail where he was released three days later since the police could not decide on what charge they could book him. The actions of Seattle police during the Seattle Community College riot were viewed by many young people as reminiscent of Hitler's Gestapo tactics and prison camps for the Jews. The police went into the Central district under the pretense of riot prevention measure, herded blacks into jail on "open charges" and held them three and four days without charges before releasing them.

When young people can see such blatant inequities in law enforcement there can be no question but that they will not respect the police, especially when parents can buy their way out of trouble or when the Shriners can pay their way around certain motorcycle laws. Selective law enforcement is largely due to community pressures and therefore:

> We recommend that with regards to "open charges" arrests, either the existing statutes be changed (or reasonable time be defined and standardized throughout the state).

We recommend that a statewide policy academy with emphasis on behavioral science, anthropology, sensitivity training, and human understanding be established to train local law enforcement officers.

We further recommend that local law enforcement agencies be made responsible to civilian review boards that would publish annual reports on practices and findings, and would include as members both adults and youth.

Ignorance of the law is no excuse, but there is no attempt made at instruction on the law. The consequences of car theft, or drug abuse should be made very clear to high school and college students. The course should include how laws are made and how they sometimes simply express the current attitudes of society. Particular attention should be paid to rights guaranteed under law. Therefore:

We recommend that courses on how laws are made and how they express the current attitudes in society be set up in all high schools and colleges and universities in the State of Washington.

Our examination of Seattle's curfew laws illustrates that although an attempt has been made to involve the city in areas of legitimate concern of its young people, many other areas are covered by statutes in which the city's traditional role of in loco parentis is no longer applicable. In addition, it is our opinion that various portions of the statutes are so vague and indefinite as to raise serious question as to its constitutionality. Therefore:

We recommend a study be conducted on the curfew laws of the cities of the State in hope that standardized curfew laws will be established through legislation.

Political Rights:

If there is one basic tenet of democratic theory, it is that those persons whose lives are regulated by policies and decisions of government should have a voice in helping to make them. The liability of young men of 18 to compulsory military service is a burden of citizenship. Young men are not motivated as servicemen, nor do they respect the foreign policy which requires their service and for which they are expendable. Furthermore, most have no voice in the formulation of these policies. It is said that the judgment of a soldier cannot be equated with the judgments required for citizenship. The responsibilities imposed on soldiers in peace and war belie that idea. If the preservation of the nation requires the "supreme sacrifice" be made, it is in keeping with the fundamental principles of democracy, that the citizen have a voice in determining the need for and nature of that sacrifice.

Another burden of citizenship imposed on young people is that of taxation. The slogan so justifiably utilized by the American revolutionaries of 1776 in rejecting government from London, "Taxation without representation is tyranny," has a hollow and hypocritical ring in the ears of today's young people who are subject to and who pay federal income tax, state sales tax and other taxes. In essence, the young help sustain a government which is not responsive to them since they have no say in where their share of the public funds are going.

Young people between the ages of 18 and 21 have never been more interested in political issues, as may be witnessed by their active involvement in the political campaigns of both parties during the 1968 election campaigns. Young people, however, see the democratic process (voting) denied them by law. This much is certain: responsible people, as long as they are free, will never remain silent to any injustice. If there is fear of erring, it should be made on the side of expanding freedom of expression, not restricting it.

Today, 41 per cent of the nation's population is under the age twenty-one. These young people want and have every right to participate in the problems confronting the nation to the same extent that they are already sharing its burdens.

The argument of the "double standard" is especially galling to young people under twenty-one. They are expected to be model Americans and to be intelligent enough to be able to vote. Obviously, these have never been qualifications for voting for those over twenty-one. Nonetheless, an adult mother on welfare with children, educationless and paying no taxes has a vote, as she should. Yet, a political science student at a university who may also be working to stay in school does not have the right to vote. The vote should be given to every responsible person who has a stake in the welfare of the nation.

In a newspaper survey that our committee conducted, 72 per cent of the respondents (nearly 6,000) favored lowering the voting age to 18.* Therefore:

> We recommend that the Legislature submit to the people a referendum, amending the State Constitution, allowing persons having attained 18 years of age the right to vote in all election.**

Note: *Roughly one-third of the age group 21 to 30 favored eighteen year old voting.

**This recommendation resulted in the passage of House Joint Resolution 6 by the Washington State Legislature in the 41st Legislative Session (2nd Extraordinary Session), 1970, and will appear on the ballot as a Constitutional Amendment in the November election , 1970.

Through its hearings and deliberations, by virtue of the personal experiences of its members, and by the results of the questionnaire, the committee has concluded that retaining the age of twenty-one as that at which the mantle of "adulthood" descends upon the citizens of Washington is not consistent with present day reality. The magic of "twenty-one" is founded in history. Today most citizens have at age eighteen achieved the education, experience and maturity which characterized twenty-one year olds in 1889 when the Washington Constitution was adopted. The eighteen year old citizen wants the right to vote and will gladly accept adult responsibilities. Therefore:

> We recommend that Legislation be developed which would replace the word "twenty-one" with the word "eighteen" in RCW 26.28.010. Furthermore, the other provisions (individually listed below) of RCW 26.28 should be changed to be consistent with an eighteen year old age of majority. Once these major reforms are accomplished, we recommend that thorough study be made of other statutes, ordinances and regulations existing in State and local government with the end of making necessary changes to reflect the basic change in the age of majority.
>
> We further recommend that the age for entering into a marriage contract without parental consent be standardized at 18. RCW 26.28.010. ***
>
> We recommend that the age for entering into or be bound by contracts be standardized at 18. RCW 26.28.030. ***
>
> We recommend that the age for making or being recipient of a will be standardized at 18. (When this standardization is achieved, subsections (2) and (3) of RCW 11.12.010 who may make a will should be deleted for they will no longer be applicable.) ***
>
> We recommend that the age for bringing suit or being sued be standardized at 18. RCW 4.08.050.***
>
> We recommend that the age for legal purchase and consumption of alcoholic beverage be standardized at 18. RCW 26.28.080.
>
> We recommend that the age of consent for one's own medical care be standardized at 18.

Note: ***These recommendations resulted in the passage of Engrossed Senate Bill No. 27 by the Washington State Legislature in the 41st Legislative Session (2nd Extraordinary session), 1970.

Education and Due Process of Law:

On the last day of the term, June 1969, at Kentridge High School, after an exchange of words involving a personality conflict between a teacher and a student, the teacher physically assaulted the student, who retaliated by kicking the teacher. At the request of the student's parents, the school conducted an investigation into the incident. After the investigation, which amounted to a meeting between the principal and the teacher involved, the student was expelled on the grounds of "unprovoked physical attack," despite statements to the contrary by several witnesses and the student.[1] Once again the student's right to due process of law had been violated.

This case is only one of the innumerable violations of students' constitutional rights that occur in our public schools annually. Students are becoming acutely aware of the inequities of their educational complex; the unfavorable publicity, the disintegration of discipline and the unrest that result are not necessary. Before any student is suspended or expelled from a public school, he should be entitled to due process of law, as guaranteed in the United States Constitution.

Many progressive schools are already considering the adoption of a "student Bill of Rights," which would include the right of due process in the form of a hearing. A few schools have already adopted such provisions; e.g., Seattle Public School District, Seattle's Shoreline School District, and the University of Washington. These institutions realize that all too often expulsions are made in the heat of an argument, or because of personal antagonisms. Further, they recognize that administrators too often try to rationalize such actions rather than find solutions to present problems. Controversial situations often place administrators under such concentrated pressure that hasty decisions are made, and due process will eliminate a great deal of this pressure. Therefore:

> We recommend that students be guaranteed the right of due process of law, as provided by the fifth and fourteenth amendments to the United States Constitution, and, in particular, a public hearing before an impartial body made up of a cross-section of the educational community involved, including students.

Many students in the State of Washington are doubly punished by their school when convicted of a crime under the juvenile court's jurisdiction. Some students are also punished by their school for a crime and then turned over to the juvenile authorities for further punishment. This violates students' right to freedom from double jeopardy as guaranteed by the fifth and fourteenth amendments of the United States Constitution. Therefore:

> We recommend that students who violate municipal, state or federal laws off the school grounds and not during school hours should be subject to jurisdiction by local civil court systems only. School authorities should be involved only when the civil authorities recommend such action.
>
> We recommend that when a student violates a school or a municipal, state or federal law on school grounds and/or during school hours, he should be punished only by the school authorities, unless the severity of the crime indicates further assistance is necessary for proper handling of the case, in which case civil authorities should handle the case in complete autonomy.
>
> Finally, we recommend that school rules should be made to apply only to academic situations and that they not duplicate in any way existing municipal, state or federal laws.

Not only do educational policies need to be reformed, but many administrative policies leave much to be desired. For example, the students' right to privacy on all matters concerning his education. This right to privacy should be respected at all times. Official transcript should include only basic information such as name, address, grades, and attendance statistics. A student's file should be available only to him and to his parents. Therefore:

We recommend that all school records regarding a particular student be considered confidential and that these records should be available to outside individuals and agencies only after the student has been properly notified, and that the student should have the opportunity to add a written comment or rebuttal concerning any comments on his record written by counselors or teachers.

Throughout the State of Washington, high school students are constantly being denied their right to freedom and expression of speech. For example, at Edmonds High School, a straight "A" student was expelled for possessing Grape Boycott literature which he was going to distribute after school. At Shoreline High School students are currently being expelled for distributing (not selling) underground newspapers at school. [2]

In 1969 the United State Supreme Court decision, Tinker vs. Des Moines, [3] the freedom of speech clause was interpreted to include freedom of expression. The Court stated that the only criterion for restricting freedom of speech of expression would be when the actions would "materially disrupt classwork or involve substantial disorder or invasion of the rights of others."

Students and student organizations should be free to examine and discuss all questions of interest to them, and to express opinions publicly and privately. Young people should always be free to support their chosen "causes" by orderly means which do not disrupt the regular and essential functions of the school. At the same time, it should be made clear, both to the academic and larger community, that in their public expressions or demonstrations, students or student organizations speak only for themselves.

Students should be allowed to invite and hear any person of their own choosing. Those routine procedures required by a school before a guest speaker is invited to appear on campus should be designed only to insure that there is an orderly scheduling of facilities and adequate preparation for the event. The school's control of campus facilities should not be used as a device of censorship. It should be made clear to the public that sponsorship of guest speakers does not necessarily imply approval or endorsement of the views expressed either by the speaker, the sponsoring groups, or any affiliated organizations.

Students should be free to exercise their rights of free speech within the classroom, in the halls or on the school campus. The school should prohibit such activities only when it can be demonstrated that the students' conduct materially disrupts classwork or involves substantial disorder or invasion of the rights of others, as determined by a system of due process. The right of free speech also includes the right to uncensored distribution of leaflets and handbills, except in the classroom and the only restrictions on the content of such materials should be those limitations imposed by federal, state or municipal law.

Moreover, students should also be free to express their beliefs and life-styles through their clothing and personal appearance. Restrictive dress and appearance codes should apply only to those forms of dress and appearance which can be proven to "materially disrupt classwork or involve substantial disorder or invasion of the rights of others," as determined by a system of due process. Therefore:

We recommend that students be accorded the right to freedom of expression through speech as guaranteed them in the first and fourteenth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Students are often restricted from being affiliated with organizations which may be oriented around controversial subjects. Established organizations are often harassed and restricted when they try to broaden their field to include controversial viewpoints. This is an obvious violation of the students' right to freedom of expression and also violates the very philosophy of education which professes to encourage freedom of inquiry and involvement with realistic problems.

Recognition of student organizations should require only a constitution and a

statement of purpose and they should not be forbidden to affiliate with controversial outside organizations. The concept of relevancy to school goals or interests should never be invoked as a criterion for recognition, as the students' desire to affiliate should be relevancy enough.

The membership, policies, and actions of a student organization should be determined by vote of only those persons who are members of the organization. The members, of course, should also assume all responsibilities and liabilities for their actions as an organization consistent with law. If faculty advisers are required, each organization should be free to choose its own adviser, and the role of the adviser should be to advise the organization as to its responsibilities - and not to interfere with its policies. Therefore:

> We recommend that students be accorded the right to freedom of assembly as guaranteed them by the first and fourteenth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Corporal punishment, or legalized third degree assault (as defined in RCW 9.11.040) can no longer be tolerated as proper discipline. The in loco parentis once exercised by teachers and administrators has been struck down by the Supreme Court. It is time to find alternatives to child beating. Eighty-one per cent of the responses to our questionnaire were tallied as against the use of corporal punishment as a means of discipline in schools. Therefore:

> We recommend that corporal punishment as a means of discipline in schools be abolished and alternative disciplinary methods be developed.

Rights in Court:

Regardless of the severity of the punishment, or the additional cost included, deprivation of liberty is the point at which everyone is entitled to legal counsel. If a person faces the machinery of the courts, that person is entitled to representation by one who understands the "assembly-line criminal justice system" namely, an attorney. The right of counsel was established by the Supreme Court in Gideon vs. Wainwright.[4] It is now time for our state through its judiciary to extend to indigent misdemeanants this benefit of counsel. Therefore:

> We recommend that benefit of attorney as guaranteed in the United States Constitution be extended to indigent misdemeanants.

The United States Constitution guarentees that the accused by tried by impartial jury consisting of members from a cross-section of the community. Attempts to systematically exclude jurors has been struck down by the Supreme Court (Strauden vs. West Virginia 180, 100 U.S. 303, exclusion of black jurors; Witherspoon vs. Illinois, 1968, 391 U.S. 510, exclusion of persons who do not believe in capital punishment). But an eighteen year old facing a jury trial is denied his rights because jurors under twenty-one have been excluded. This violates the ancient legal principal of trial by one's own peers. Therefore:

> We recommend that trial by one's own peers as guaranteed in the United States Constitution be extended to eighteen year old people and that it shall be standardized at eighteen.

Modern Morality:

It is recognized that some laws express the feelings of society at a particular point in time. The present laws regarding sexual behavior are such. But laws of this type can be counter productive when outmoded. The laws concerning sexual behavior, the consumption of alcoholic beverages and marijuana are so unenforceable that if the police

was able to apprehend every violator, past and present, it would be necessary, in the words of one witness, " ... to erect prison walls around the entire State." Further, young people feel that their involvement in such behavior is an individual decision and therefore not proper subject matter for legislation. This type of situation breeds disrespect for the law, and hypocrisy.

A great majority of Washington's youth favor liberalization of the abortion laws, (on the questionnaire 63 per cent favored legalization of abortion) feeling that abortion should be left to the discretion of the pregnant woman alone. Therefore:

We recommend that the age for sexual consent be abolished.

We further recommend the endorsement of the Governor's Advisory Council on Urban Affairs that the Washington State Legislature give careful consideration, through public hearings open to all groups who want to be heard, to the proposed legislation prepared by the Washington State Medical Society which would:

1. Make the criminal abortion laws inapplicable to physicians, including osteopathic physicians, and to women under the care of physicians;

2. Require that, except in a medical emergency, any termination of a pregnancy may be performed in a hospital accredited by the Joint Commission on Accreditation of Hospitals, or at medical facilities approved by the State Board of Health;

3. Provide that no hospital or other person objecting to the termination of a pregnancy would have a legal obligation to perform or assist in the performance of such a procedure.

We further recommend that a commission with broad representation, including lay citizens, elected officials, clergymen, medical professionals, et. al., be formed to further study the question of termination of pregnancy and its legalization in Washington State.*

Note: * This recommendation resulted in the passage of Senate Bill No. 68 by the Washington State Legislature in the 41st Legislative Session (2nd Extraordinary Session), 1970, and will appear on the ballot for voter approval in the November elections, 1970.

Code Revision:

The Legal Rights subcommittee chairman made available to us the computer printout analysis of those portions of the Revised Code of Washington affecting citizens under twenty-one years of age. Assistance in reviewing these statutory sections has been obtained from the Young Lawyers Section of the Seattle-King County Bar Association which is now involved in analyzing the myriad "youth" areas of the Code to discover which, in their opinion, are in need of redrafting, revision, or repeal. A substantial amount of time and effort has been and is continuing to be spent in this project. It is anticipated that legislation will be presented to the Washington Legislature. The long-range impact of this analysis and survey will be considerable. Therefore:

We recommend that the anlysis of those portions of the Revised Code of Washington pertaining to youth, and revision, repeal and redrafting of the same, be continued in cooperation with the Young Lawyers' Section of the Seattle-King County Bar Association.

Our survey of the Seattle City Code and its impact on youth has indicated many portions of the Seattle ordinance are outdated and outmoded. In addition, many ordinance sections are not in keeping with present customs, practices or standards of the Seattle Community. Citizens of Seattle under twenty-one are categorized with drunks, persons under the influence of or addicted to narcotic drugs, known thieves or associates of thieves, receivers of stolen property, or any person who is suspected of being

dishonest or criminal. Therefore:

> We recommend that a respresentative of Washington State be established as a liaison with the Seattle-King County Youth Commission in order to present to the Seattle City Council needed revisions in the Seattle City Code affecting youth.

The drug scene: Myths and Realities:

The widespread prevalence of "pop" drugs[5] has been from the very outset an intrinsic feature of the counter-culture created by the new generation of young people during the 1960's. To many people, the steadily rising incidence of drug use and abuse is both the definitive element and quintessential symbol of what the contemporary youth scene is really about. To the young votaries of the counter-culture, pop drugs signify further progress in the quest for liberation from the "uptight," materialistic and conformist-conscious white, middle-class world of their elders. To parents, however, drugs provoke painful bewilderment and anxiety, galvanic alarm, and emotional, irrational outbursts of rage and condemnation. Drugs effectively comprise the single-most controversial and divisive issue, with the possible exception of long hair, in today's youth culture.

The effects of the controversy and divisiveness generated by the drug issue have hardly been beneficent, particularly to those engaged in efforts directed toward developing realistic and viable solutions to what has undeniably become a problem of an increasingly serious magnitude. For, while pop drugs (as the Time article put it) "hardly portend anything as drastic as a new and debauched American spirit, as some alarmists believe ..., drug use does reflect some little-recognized shifts in adult American values as well as the persistent unwillingness of youth to accept the 'straight' world."

The use of drugs is increasing. Purchase of drugs is easy and drug laws are not uniformly enforced. The enforcement of drug laws that has taken place has not adequately controlled the flow and consumption of drugs.

Two major problems arise from the illegal use of drugs. One is the lack of control of the purity and dosage of drugs, and the other is the involvement of organized crime in the drug picture.

The involvement of the Mafia is reminiscent of the days of Prohibition. Following the enactment and ratification of the Eighteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution, in 1919, it quickly became apparent that the populace disagreed strongly enough with the law to flaunt it regularly. As a result, the consumption of alcoholic beverages flourished, and the money and power generated from the sale of illegal liquor gave the Mafia a power and influence this nation has never overcome.

A recent change in the law lessened the penalty on a first conviction of possession of marijuana from a felony with a mandatory five year sentence to a misdemeanor. This change is expected to result in more convictions because the law, as formerly stated, was considered as unduly harsh punishment for the crime involved. Yet, the use and distribution of drugs has continued to increase.

Apparently in the minds of many, perhaps due to the amount of publicity given to "hippies," the hippie scene and the drug scene are one and the same. If this were true, only a very small group could be identified as drug users. Yet the President of the National Institute of Mental Health recently estimated that there are from eight to twelve million Americans who have experimented with drugs or who are regular users. The numbers alone would indicate that included in this group are millions of "ordinary" citizens who are drug users.

While it is difficult to categorize drugs by degrees of addictiveness (due to lack of definitive information), marijuana, in the minds of youth, is in a category

by itself. Rightly or wrongly, many youth see marijuana as no more harmful than alcohol; indeed, many think of it as less harmful. The strong opposition of many adults to marijuana is seen by many youths as not based in fact. It is widely known among young people that many of their peers have tried marijuana with no apparent harm. This has greatly contributed to a credibility gap between youth and the adult society.

Modern society must learn how to live with drugs as it has with alcohol. History has proven the folly of Prohibition. What is needed is an enlightened attitude. The words must change from prohibition and condemnation to liberalization to toleration. Therefore we recommend:

1. The legalization of the sale and use of marijuana.*

2. That the State Legislature take steps to acquire accurate and up-to-date information re: drug use in its various aspects for the purpose of legislative and administrative changes as they are needed.

3. That drug information be made available to the general population with special emphasis on programs established in schools.

4. That the State support drug care centers (The Place, Open Door Clinic, etc.) with public endorsement, technical assistance and solicitation of private funds.

Note: * This was included in the report by a one vote majority.

Essential to any intelligent public approach to drugs is the realization that they are not an isolated phenomenon but a product of a complex and often frustrating society. Adults must get used to the fact that their world has witnessed the growth of a separate youth culture, or counterculture. For many of the kids in it, pot is a part of growing up, and the great majority have no intention of "freaking out" for good. In the long run, adults can do the most to allay youth's disaffection by the admittedly arduous process of mending the social and political dislocations of the times: a tragic war, a capricious draft system, inequitable distribution of opportunity and income, institutions immured against necessary change. The goal probably should not be to eliminate drugs entirely, which is impossible, but to control them and diminish their appeal by offering the only valid alternative - a life of challenge and fulfillment.

FOOTNOTES:

[1] American Civil Liberties Union Vertical File, Washington American Civil Liberties Union Headquarters.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Tinker et.al. vs. Des Moines Independent Community School District et.al., 393 U.S. 503 (1969).

[4] Gideon vs. Wainwright, 372 U.S. 335 (1963).

[5] Pop drugs, according to a cover story run by Time in the fall of 1969, are those drugs "widely taken by middleclass young people, mostly of whom are white" and include marijuana ("pot," "grass," "dope"), hashish ("hash"), mescaline, peyote, LSD ("acid"), barbiturates and sedatives, and amphetamine and methadrine stimul nts ("speed"). Heroin ("smack"), considered to be a much "harder" narcotic, was excluded from this category. See "Pop Drugs: The High as a Way of Life," Time (September 26, 1969).

A P P E N D I X I

TO: Members of the Governor's Commission for Youth Involvement

FROM: Jim Waldo, Executive Director

RE: Key Areas of Youth Involvement for Your Investigation

I have listed five areas which I feel to be most relevant to our task as outlined by Governor Evans in creating this Commission. While I realize that these areas by no means exhaust or comprehensively cover the possibilities for detailed discussions, I nevertheless feel that, particularly in view of time limitations, concentration on these topics would be most fruitful. Still, it will be recognized that they are in themselves quite general in nature, thereby hopefully lending themselves to a broad spectrum of discussion and action.

1. A SOCIAL ACTION PROGRAM:

There are a number of possible ways in which young people COULD be effective in helping to devise and implement solutions to social problems. The following problems are only a few of those which the creator of such an organization could pose:

a. How can young people be motivated?

b. How can the talents of young people best be used?

c. What types of programs could such a group undertake?

d. What type of help do the disadvantaged desire?

e. What are the opportunities for working with local, state and federal governments?

f. What are the possible sources of funding?

g. What organizational problems are involved?

2. POLITICAL PROCESSES:

Because of the intricate inter-relationship between government and "politics," we feel that the political processes, as they exist in America today, should be a primary area of concern for this Commission. All too often, young people are simply not aware of the nature of these ties between government, which is "good," and politics, which is "bad." This unawareness is a chief reason for the historic ineffectiveness of youth in the political processes. If the system has young people locked out, it remains for the young people to find the key.

With few notable exceptions, the young people of this country have not yet translated their vast potential into political power and effectiveness. The McCarthy campaign, the Young Tennesseans for Baker in 1966, Lindsay's Raiders in 1965, and Action for Washington in 1968 have shown that young people do have the political muscle. In order that this muscle be most effective, it must be applied in the strategic places of the system. Today's youth must learn where these strategic places are.

3. COMMITTEE ON YOUTH OPPORTUNITIES IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT:

Programs of youth participation in local government already exist in certain areas of our state - Seattle, King County, Yakima, Richland - as well as nationally. These could be investigated to determine such things as: problems and weaknesses; strengths; levels at which young people can effectively be involved; and what preparations should be made to facilitate this involvement.

Secondly, prototypes could be developed for various sizes of cities as well as various degrees of participation in the decision-making process.

Third, it would be significant to determine which local officials throughout the state would be most receptive to significant youth participation in their area.

4. COMMITTEE ON LEGAL RIGHTS OF YOUTH:

This committee would have the task of making a thorough and comprehensive study of the existing statutory regulations that apply to young people in our state. There are presently 800 laws particularly relating to youth; however, many of these laws, though originally enacted for good reasons (for instance, child labor laws) are now more obstructive than constructive. Only after an official study of the relevance of these laws to the prevailing conditions can the Governor and the Legislature act to change the existing statutes that are in need of updating.

5. YOUTH OPPORTUNITIES COMMITTEE:

The State has not yet effectively involved young people nor begun to utilize their talents. The following are some general areas which should be at least considered:

a. Present programs:

Washington Council on Youth and Children.
Governor's Youth Advisory Commission.
Summer intern program - management intern program.
Minority jobs - swinger program.

b. Money spent on youth programs, boards and commissions, think tank.

c. Department of Youth Affairs:

Operating out of the Governor's office, this agency would be concerned with developing and publicizing opportunities for young people to serve in state government.

A P P E N D I X II

GOVERNOR'S COMMISSION FOR YOUTH INVOLVEMENT
Legal Rights of Youth Committee

QUESTIONNAIRE RESULTS

TOTAL RESPONSE - 5,940

0 indicates no age restriction
? indicates a blank answer or a qualified answer
* indicates a percentage less than 0.1

Percentages were computed to the nearest 0.1 per cent.

1. Do you believe the age of majority should be standardized?

Yes	67.0
No	25.6
?	7.4

2. The right to own real and personal property should be set at age:

a. 0	0.3
b. 16	21.6
c. 17	4.7
d. 18	59.6
e. 19	4.6
f. 20	9.2
g. 21	*

3. The right to make a will for the disposition of property should be set at age:

a. 0	0.3
b. 16	17.7
c. 17	3.5
d. 18	60.0
e. 19	4.7
f. 20	13.7
g. 21	0.1

4. The right to marry without parental consent should be set at age:

a. 0	0.2
b. 16	11.7
c. 17	7.5
d. 18	65.6
e. 19	5.7
f. 20	9.2
g. 21	0.1

5. Do you believe that the age of consent should be lowered?

Yes	61.4
No	36.9
?	1.7

6. Do you believe that abortion should be legalized?

Yes	60.9
No	37.6
?	1.5

7. If yes, then abortion without parental consent should be permitted at age:

a. 0	2.9
b. 16	24.2
c. 17	5.2
d. 18	55.7
e. 19	3.8
f. 20	7.8
g. 21	0.4

8. The age for public consumption of beer and wine should be:

a. 16	3.9
b. 17	*
c. 18	66.7
d. 19	0.5
e. 20	7.3
f. 21	18.8
g. 0	2.8

9. The age for public consumption of all other alcohol should be:

a. 16	2.0
b. 17	*
c. 18	51.6
d. 19	0.3
e. 20	11.6
f. 21	32.2
g. 0	2.3

10. Do you believe marijuana to be detrimental to health?

Yes	50.5
No	49.3
?	0.2

APPENDIX II - cont'd

11. Do you believe that further research should be made before marijuana should be legalized?

Yes	76.8
No	23.0
?	0.2

12. Do you believe that marijuana should be legalized?

Yes	51.5
No	48.4
?	0.1

13. Do you think that military service and tax paying status are relevant to the citizenship qualifications for voting?

Yes	67.1
No	32.1
?	0.8

14. The right to vote should be set at age:

a. 16	*
b. 17	3.2
c. 18	72.2
d. 19	8.5
e. 20	4.8
f. 21	11.3

15. In light of recent, numerous charges of abuses of police power, do you believe that a civilian review board would be helpful in evaluating these charges?

Yes	75.0
No	23.3
?	1.7

16. Do you believe that the establishment of a statewide police academy would be helpful in improving the quality of local law enforcement?

Yes	75.4
No	23.1
?	1.5

17. Do you believe separate facilities should be maintained for the detention of arrested minors?

Yes	80.3
No	19.4
?	0.3

18. Should counselors be made available in high schools to advise students of their rights relative to the draft?

Yes	84.9
No	14.9
?	0.2

19. Should alcohol and drug information couses be made available to junior high school students?

Yes	86.9
No	12.9
?	0.2

20. Do you believe that the use of physical force by teachers is a justifiable means of discipline?

Yes	18.2
No	81.2
?	0.6

21. Do you believe that matters of dress and hair style should be left to the discretion of the individual and not dictated by school authorities?

Yes	78.3
No	21.2
?	0.5

22. Would you be willing to accept the additional responsibilities that accompany increased rights?

Yes	95.4
No	4.4
?	0.2

A P P E N D I X III

EDUCATION; TEN GUARANTEES OF STUDENT RIGHTS AND FREEDOMS

We endorse and recommend adoption by this state's educational institutions the TEN GUARANTEES OF STUDENT RIGHTS AND FREEDOMS from the Joint Statement on Student Rights and Freedoms.*

Note: *Subscribed to by: United States National Student Association, American Association of University Professors, The National Association of Student Personnel Administrators, American Association of College Women's Deans, and the American Association of College Presidents.

1. Students should have protection through orderly procedures against prejudiced or capricious academic evaluation.

2. Information from disciplinary or counseling files should not be available to unauthorized persons on campus, or to any person off campus without express consent of the student involved, except under legal compulsion or in cases where the safety of person or property is involved.

3. No records should be kept which reflect the political activities or beliefs of students.

4. Students should always be free to support causes by orderly means which do not disrupt the regular and essential operation of the institution.

5. Students should be allowed to invite and hear any person of their choosing.

6. The student press should be free of censorship and advance approval of copy, and its editors and managers should be free to develop their own editorial policies and news coverage.

7. Students who violate the law may incur penalties prescribed by civil authorities, but institutional authority should never be used merely to duplicate the function of the general laws. Only where the institution's interest as an academic community are distinct and clearly involved should the special authority of the institution be asserted.

8. Except under extreme emergency circumstances, premises occupied by students and the personal possessions of students should not be searched unless appropriate authorization has been obtained.

9. The student should be as free as possible from imposed limitations that have no direct relevance to his education. Disciplinary proceeding should be instituted only for violations of standards of conduct formulated with significant student participation published in advance in an availably body of institutional regulations.

10. In all situations, procedural fair play requires that the student be informed of the nature of the charges against him, that he be given a fair opportunity to refute them, that the institution not be arbitrary in its actions, and that there be provision for appeal of a decision.